adopted child behaves badly, the adoption can be set aside and another child be adopted, unless the child which misbehaved has a child, in which case the young child is retained and the misbehaving parent, or parents, is, or are, turned out of the family. If after having adopted children, a man's wife bears him a child, the adopted son and the real son are considered brothers, the adopted son being considered the elder brother. If the real son objects to this, the family property is equally divided between the adopted and the real son. 597 593 597 428

[4] ALTAR--hláto or láto the round heaps of stones erected on the crest of a pass or the top of a mountain whereon horns are placed and first fruit offerings offered up to the Hla or gods. 778 782

[5] ANGEL-- A Christian Missionary speaks of angels as konjok i phóngia or God's ambassadors. A Tibetan not acquainted with the tenets of the Christian faith would not understand what was meant by the expression. Buddhists believe in gods and goddesses and demons, but they have nothing which corresponds exactly with our idea of "angel." konjok is the great ideal divine principle having neither form or feature. The good spirits or angels or minor deities are called Hla (male), and Hlámo (fem.)--but see under heading "Spirit." 776 779

[6] APRICOT-- chooli (fresh); pháting (the dried apricots which come from Baltistan and are far superior to the Kabul dried apricots known in India as khoománi). The best apricots come from Shigar just below Skardu. Large quantities of dried apricots are exported from Baltistan to Ladák, Chángtháng and Lhássa. Ladák is too cold for apricot trees to fruit well, but there are a few good trees in Nubra and at Saspul. Apricots are not dried in Ladák. The common small apricots of Ladák have frequently a bitter taste, but the poor people value them, as an oil is extracted from the kernels, which serves either as an oil for burning, or for cooking purposes. The cost of apricot oil is almost as much as that of kerosine oil. It is called "riseegoo i marnak." 245 439 251 372 245

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

loose red trowsers, the ends of which are tucked into the boots, and a shawl over their shoulders; they go bare-headed, and wear their hair in a number of small plaits which hang down the back. On the top of their heads the married women wear a *pirák* or silver ornament from which depend strings of beads on both sides of their faces, and long tails of leather studded with coarse turquoises. The girls wear only a single turquoise threaded on the hair near the parting: this, like the snood in Scotland, is a sign of their being unmarried. In winter both sexes wear great-coats made of sheep skin with the wool on. In Láhaul the dress of the men is much the same as that worn in Kúlu, the only difference being that the coat is longer and of thicker and darker cloth, and that trowsers are always worn; the women, on the other hand, dress like those of Spiti, except that straw sandals replace the long boots. It is not easy at first to distinguish a Láhauli nun, if young, from a lad, as they shave their heads and dress like men.

Dress of Láhaul and Spiti.

Horse-racing and shooting with the long bow are amusements common to both Láhaul and Spiti, and are practised at meetings held at particular seasons. Prizes are given at the races, and the rider of the last horse is subjected to a good deal of ridicule and practical jocking. The target at an archery meeting consists generally of a pillar of snow with a leaf for a bull's eye. The archers excite themselves by treating the pillar as an effigy of some traditional tyrant, and cry out "let the Rana of Ghúsa have it in the goitre" or "give the Kárdang *saplang*, one in the eye." Stakes of cash or grain are shot for.* Both Spiti men and Láhaulis have almost always got dice about them, with which they amuse themselves by gambling at odd moments. Evening parties are common enough, at which much *cháng* or beer is drunk, and men and women dance a kind of quadrille or country dance together in a very brisk and lively fashion to the music of flageolets and tambourines played by the *Bedas*.

Amusements.

In Láhaul as in Kúlu generally only one family lives in one house. The average number of souls is 5·7 per house and 5·5 per family. In Sára, that is the valley of the Bhága, it is common for several brothers to live together; but separation is becoming more common. In Pattan, where Hindúism prevails, division is the rule of the Spiti family. Mr. Anderson writes as follows:—

Constitution of the family.

"The number of souls per house is only 3·6, and per family 3·3. This is the result of the peculiar custom prevailing in Spiti by which the eldest son on his marriage ousts his father from the 'big house' and is himself ousted in return. Primogeniture prevails in Spiti; and the eldest son in the father's lifetime succeeds to the ancestral property, and becomes responsible for the revenue and other burdens incidental to its possession. The younger brothers go to the ancestral cell in the *goupa* (or monastery), where they are entitled to maintenance. Should a *lámá's* (or monk's) elder brother die without issue, he may resign the priesthood and take possession of the ancestral house. The eldest son has to give up to his father two or three fields by way of maintenance. I was told that it was considered no hardship for the father thus to resign in his son's favour. This custom has given rise to the following names":—

* Formerly the bow was the weapon both of war and of the chase in these countries. Mr. Lyall remembers meeting in Spiti a man from Great Tibet who carried a very well made and powerful sling as a weapon of defence.

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ

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Chapter III, B.

Social and Religious Life.

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Custom of inheritance in Spiti.

[597]

valley this right does not appear to be so clearly established: the objections of near kinsmen are sometimes attended to, or a field or two given to them by way of compromise. Kinsmen, however, are of course very few, as the only way in which a younger brother can found a separate family is by becoming son-in-law and adopted son to another landholder. Such a man might claim on behalf of his younger son, but not on his own behalf or that of his eldest son, as it is a rule that for each holding or allotment there must be a separate resident head of the house to do service for it, as well as pay the revenue. Sometimes an illegitimate descendant of the family, who has been living on the estate as a *yáng champa*, will claim as a kinsmen and succeed, but he cannot be said to have any absolute right or title. Unmarried daughters of a landholder are entitled to maintenance from their father, brother, or nephew, that is from the head of the family for the time being; he must either let them live in his house on equal terms with his own family, or must give them a separate house and plot of land; they forfeit their claim if they go away to live in any other man's house, but no other act of theirs will entitle their father or his successor to cast them off, or resume the house and plot of land once given during their life-time. Many women live and die as spinsters in their father's or brother's houses: their chance of marriage is small, as all younger sons become monks, and the monks are bound to celibacy (except in Pín *kothí*), and bigamy is only allowed in the case of the head of a family who has no son or expectation of getting one by the wife he first marries. In case the brother-in-law of a widow does not come out of the monastery to take his deceased brother's place, or in case there are no brothers-in-law, the widow can marry again, and does not forfeit her interest in the estate by so doing so long as she continues to reside on it: on the contrary, in default of issue by the first husband, the children by the second will succeed to the estate. She can marry any person of the same class as herself: if there happens to be a near kinsman available, she would be expected to select him, but whether it would be absolutely obligatory on her to do so is not quite clear. A marriage feast is given to celebrate the event.

[848]

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Customs and ceremonies connected with births, marriages, funerals, &c.

The best general account of the social customs of the Botiás[1] will be found in General Cunningham's *Ladákh*; but in the country now under discussion, and especially in Láhaul, the practice of the present day be found to differ in some details. The religious ceremony consists in almost all cases in the simple reading of prayers or passages from the holy books by a *lámá*, while the whole company of men and women sit round with clasped hands and down-cast eyes, and repeat the verses after the *lámá*. The social celebration of all these events consists mainly of feasts in which much *cháng* is drunk. In Láhaul the decisive point in the negotiation for a betrothal is the acceptance or refusal of a pot of *cháng* sent to the father of the bride: if he drinks, the affair is settled without more words. In Láhaul, polyandry, or the taking to wife of one woman by several brothers, is a recognized institution, and is very general; the object is to prevent the division of estates. Mr. Lyall remembers a case which came before him in which one of two brothers living in polyandry much wished to separately marry a girl by whom he had had an illegitimate

[584]

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[1] [ca, Tibetans. See Source #1: Cunningham, West Tibetans File. -- Analyst]

lives. For the beliefs and superstitions instilled by the lamas since their girlhood are not easily displaced.

I also learned that perhaps 50 per cent of the polyandric marriages are happy ones. Many are not. One *magpa* affair I ran into is an unhappy one. This is the case of the Tingzingpa family of Khalatse below Leh. The man, imported into the family to provide the missing male line of descent, is in love not with the elder sister but with the younger one. The older sister is left out in the cold. She receives no husbandly attentions. In August 1951 she was planning to leave the home, go to Leh, and marry a Moslem.

The wife in a polyandric marriage, like a *magpa*, often has her favorites. I also found an example of that in Khalatse. The man's name is Thundup Drambuchanpa. He is a disconsolate, middle-aged man with five brothers. They are married to Phuti. Thundup thought he had first claim to Phuti. After all, he owned the whole family inheritance. It was he who married Phuti. His brothers were only the beneficiaries of his marriage. They should occupy second place and stay in the background. Not so. His youngest brother, Rigzen, had taken over. He got all the attention, all the affection of Phuti. Thundup was mad, thoroughly mad. Phuti and Rigzen would not even let him eat at the same table with them. He had to wait to eat until they finished. Then he got only the leftovers, and they were cold.

"Is that just?" he asked. "Why does not Rigzen leave?"

But Rigzen, with the connivance of Phuti, was there to stay. He had taken over the management of the farm and was squeezing Thundup out.

The reverse happened to Wangyal of Leh. He was isolated, in fact quarantined, from the family life. The wife gave all her devotion to the elder brother. When that happens in Ladakh, the younger brother commonly leaves the family. Some become coolies; others seek work in Yarkand, Kyelang, Srinagar, Manali; others become lamas. Wangyal did not want to do any of those things. The new law of Kashmir declared polyandry illegal; it

12: Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

abolished primogeniture and decreed that on the death of the father any son could get a partition of the ancestral home and claim his fraction of it. 595 428 [671]

That was what Wangyal decided to do. He would prove to the elder brother and their wife that he could not be frozen out of his family life.

And so he went to see the Tehsildar. But that was only the beginning of his troubles. The pressure of the village is on the side of the maintenance of the family and against the breaking up of the estate. The influence of the lamas is behind polyandry. The Tehsildar told Wangyal to go see his lamas at Spitok. He walked the six miles and walked back. Weeks passed. Nothing happened. For months he was shuttled between the lamas of Spitok and the officials of Leh.

"If I had money, perhaps I could bribe someone to do me justice," he complained to me. "But I am penniless." [694]

"What do you plan now?"

"Perhaps I can find work in Srinagar," he said sorrowfully.

Younger sons frequently rebel. Girls about to be married to a group of brothers sometimes defy the parental command. Choskyit, who lived at Basgo, a village below Leh on the Indus, defied her father. He ordered her to marry seven sons. She pleaded and begged and eventually refused. She left Basgo at night and fled to Leh. She was disowned and became an outlaw from her family. Later she became a Christian, converted by the Moravian missionaries at Leh. Her younger sister, however, obliged and married the seven brothers. 593 184 [797]

Such revolts as Choskyit's are not common. They seldom happen in the poorer families. But these days they happen more frequently among the upper classes. A few years back, a prominent Tibetan girl, educated abroad, married a boy in Lhasa. His mother insisted that the girl be the wife of the younger brother too. She flatly refused. The wrath of the family descended upon her. So she left and was gone five years. She would not return until a firm 593 595 184

12: Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

agreement was made that she would be the wife of only the one son. Thus are the rights of women being gradually asserted in this ancient, feudal system.

I visited a polyandric family in the village of Sankar, a mile or so north of Leh. It was a family of one wife, one child, and two husbands. Dombos was the name—Stobldan Dombos being the older brother; Tashi Dondrup Dombos, the younger; Nyangyal, the wife. They were a farm family with a few *kanals* of land under cultivation. Their house is a two-storied mud-and-stone affair with two rooms downstairs and one up. The bedroom is upstairs; and I discovered that Stobldan and Tashi Dondrup have a working rule governing the sharing of the wife. The one who is demanding her undivided attention leaves his shoes outside the closed bedroom door.

This was a gay, happy family. Nyangyal, tall and thin and with languid eyes, was eager to be photographed. The brothers were glad to co-operate. The atmosphere of the home was relaxed, not tense. Both brothers were hoping there would be more children on the way soon.

I visited the Gyalang family in Leh. This, again, is a family of one wife, Nordzin, and two husbands, Phuntzog the older and Pamba the younger. They are as poor as church mice. Phuntzog makes sixty rupees (about twelve dollars) a month running the mail down to Spitok from Leh. They have a few *kanals* of land which Pamba attends to. All of them are dressed in rags. Phuntzog and Pamba wore the typical Ladakhi dress. Their wool coats were loose, coarsely woven, and dyed red. Each had a dirty sash around his waist. Their stockings were of felt and knee-length. Their hats were a cap-like headdress with flaps on two sides that cover the ears in winter. Nordzin's dress (her only one) was a typical Ladakhi dress—coarse black wool with high neck, long sleeves, full skirt. She never washes the dress. She takes it off at night, and in the winter uses it as extra bedding. Sometimes she will hang it outside at night to rid it of lice. The day I took her picture

12: Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

she was nursing a child; and as the baby fed, Nordzin picked lice off herself and off the child and cracked them with her fingernails. Her hair was matted. Nordzin, about five feet eight and slight, had a flat face that was creased with care and worry and unhappiness. The faces of the children were as filthy as the rags they wore.

I inquired of Pamba why they were so poor when Phuntzog made twelve dollars a month and the garden produced all the vegetables they could eat. The answer was slow in coming, and even then it was evasive. It seems that a great portion of the income of the Gyalangs goes into the making of *chan*, the local barley beer. Indeed, one eighth of the farm production of Leh is used to make this brew. It stimulates many quarrels between the brothers. With the help of the *chan*, Phuntzog and Pamba raise their voices over Nordzin.

When I entered the Gyalang house, I began to understand the basis for the friction. It is a one-room affair. A clay stove, built by Phuntzog, is against one wall. The floor is of mud and very dirty. There are no chairs, no table, no bed. The one wife, four children, and two husbands roll up together on the floor.

There was a scowl on Pamba's face when I asked him about Phuntzog.

"He's Nordzin's favorite," Pamba complained.

"But he's gone most of the day and many nights on his mail route," I said.

Pamba only shrugged his shoulders.

Later I talked with Phuntzog. The sun was just rising over Leh, and he was in a hurry to get started on the road to Spitok. He, like Pamba, is short, squat, round-faced, and bedraggled. Like Pamba, he was full of complaints. His brother was getting the best of the arrangement, he said. His long absences gave Pamba the advantage. It was he, Phuntzog, who owned the place; yet it was Pamba who acted like lord and master. And Pamba was lazy and made Nordzin do all the work.

12: Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

• 593 At the end of our talk I put Phuntzog one question.

"Phuntzog," I said, "tell me the truth. Should a man keep one wife all to himself, or is it better that he share her with another man?"

Phuntzog looked at me for several seconds. His brown eyes were now hard, his face expressionless. Finally he muttered, "What do you think?"

And, turning on his heel, he started with his mail sack to Spitok.

18 Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. ...betans AJ4

The Doctor Memsahib once had 757
the privilege of coming upon a family unawares just at dawn in the middle of winter. She had been called out to a case in a village, nine miles from Leh, the last two miles of which had to be done in the dark, that is by snow and starlight, and she and her Ladaki nurse were glad to walk over the frozen snow a little to keep their feet from freezing. Already icicles stretched from upper to lower eye-lashes, and whiskers, formed by the frozen moisture of their breath, adorned their mouths. The patient's friends had sent for the Doctor three days too late ; already two small lives were extinct, and the last dim hope of the mother lay in a surgical interference. An operation was performed, after sterilizing instruments in a cooking pot by the light of a fire of sticks on the mud floor, the nurse giving chloroform for the first time. But it was too late and, at about two a.m., the patient died. We sat on till the first dim light appeared, for out-of-doors we feared wolves in the dark, and a strange experience it was. On one side of the 593 ● 764
room the corpse covered with sacking and filthy sheepskin, near the fire on the floor quietly sobbing, was the unkempt, shaggy, ragged husband, who, for all his uncouth appearance, had exhibited the most extraordinary tenderness and patience with his suffering wife ; near the stove his mother-in-law, a wrinkled old hag, who wailed intermittently. On the further side of the stove hens nestled. In the next cold fireless room two children were sleeping, and we were told that downstairs a blind old grandfather had been put in the straw cellar (again the " wrong way round " compared with our hayloft in the West) to keep warm in the horses' fodder. The Ladaki nurse spread her coat, lined with sheepskin in the corner by the stove for her Doctor, and fetched a thick horse-cover for herself. The fire of manure in the stove had gone out, and the two mourners occasionally added sticks to the one on the floor, but the room was bone cold. The family were so poor 511
that they had not offered us even a warm drink during the long, 574
bitter night, though, when they thought we were drowsing,

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

ever, and great is the joy when the old lady finds she can again see, but she can hardly be surprised, when the day was so auspicious, and her son's prayers had been so vigorously performed. She was then sent back to her ward, which had been converted into a fairly regal apartment by means of Tibetan rugs and cushions and other paraphernalia brought from her castle. Fourteen days later she was told she could now return to her home, but she told her royal Physician that she was so enjoying her holiday that she would like to stay in our Hospital for another fortnight. Her royal wish was regarded as a command, and we prolonged her holiday, but before she finally left, she honoured us by calling at our house with her retinue, and to testify their gratitude for restored sight she and her son presented us with gifts.

But now let us go to the wards. The word "ward" conjures up pictures of long rooms, with spick-and-span white painted walls, and floors so polished and smooth, that one feels skates would be the safest foot-gear; tables with plate-glass tops and beautiful flowers, and rows of white, quilted beds. But in the frontier hospitals of India, wards are not quite of this nature. When a Ladaki goes to Hospital, he does not go alone, but likes to take as many of his family with him as he can, and our wards are made to accommodate them all. This has the further advantage that the family's cooking fire, which is often made on the floor in the centre of the "ward" helps to heat the room. The whole building is made of mud bricks, some floors are boarded, others are not. We enter the first ward. Here is a man on whom we operated to remove large tumours, depending from the lobes of his ears, which had formed because he would persist in wearing ear-rings. We warn him that if he does not restrain his vanity in future, he will get further growths, but he replies that it is a religious duty for him to wear the ornaments, and he had actually come to have his keloids removed in order to be able to wear ear ornaments again. In the next ward we find an

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

of the few countries remaining where it still obtains. Various economical reasons have been urged for this unusual procedure. The foremost is that it arose in order to keep down the population in a land where sustenance of the body is so hardly won from the dry soil, and the difficulty of transport necessitates any small community being self-contained. A second is that where the nomadic life prevailed, it was inconvenient to trail many women and children around. But a Ladaki himself will tell the questioner that the custom is of royal institution, and is for the stabilizing of property. If each of several sons possessed wife and family, how could they all be supported on one landhold? Certainly the component parts, after dividing into three or more shares, would not be sufficient for any one family. This, therefore, is a different way of stating the first reason alleged, and the present method of tenure is much more economical. The wife is brought for the elder son, and, as a matter of fact, only one more brother is likely to share the lady's favours. The third son is probably given to the Church, and any more pass into other families as *makpas*. The *makpa* leaves his father's home and gods, as we have seen, adopts those of the heiress to whom he is wedded, and, when either of his parents dies, he is not allowed even to touch the corpse, though he may officiate fully in the case of the dead bodies of his bride's parents. As our Buddhist serving-man put it: "My daughter is of no profit to my corpse, save to say 'Father, Father!' and weep, and throw a little barley behind me, but she must not touch me." So does the marriage tie really become firmer than the relation between parents and offspring. In upper Ladak, therefore, more than two brothers rarely share one wife, as it is impossible, practically, for more than that number to avoid quarrelling. If the eldest son approves of this second bridegroom, and thinks that they will be able to share their wife peaceably, the younger man is included in the wedding ceremony. The white head-dress is given to him also by the

13: Heber and Heber D-8 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

643 the only village from which he is allowed to take the revenue.
651 His whole income has been computed at about Rs4000, approximately £260 per annum, which leaves little margin to
644 one who is still supposed to entertain on a royal scale. His castle stands on the side of the hill ending a spur from the main range ; it is entered through a court-yard, through which, up various steps, we reach a large room—the royal living room.
[778] In one corner is the King's altar, next to that a bed with bedding rolled up. This is where his Majesty seeks repose,
643 while his Queen and his Mother sleep on the floor. We are
574 received by the King, who shakes both our hands. The two ladies, too, give us a hearty welcome, first the elder, whose cataract we had extracted some years ago, and then the younger. We are requested to sit on rugs spread on the floor, and soon have various Ladaki dishes placed before us, most of them very tasty, even to Western appetites, although we can hardly include the butter-tea in this category. Conversation flows easily, for there is much to say and many
• [593] questions to ask and answer. Among other things the reigning Queen informs us that her husband has no head for figures, so that she has to be the business manager, and she certainly looked capable of seeing to the temporal affairs of the
643 realm. When it comes to those of a spiritual nature, however,
793 his lady has to leave the leadership to him, and the number of
[791] his ecclesiatical responsibilities is quite considerable. Before the New Year, the horologist has to tell him of dangers to come, and to advise him what scriptures must be read to
788 avoid them. Every month, for six days at least, the lamas
792 must read *chos* (religion), and must be fed with two pots of tea, soup containing wheaten flour, two earther ware pots of beer, twenty measures of parched barley-flour, besides one pound of butter to decorate the offerings which are made of
[784] barley-flour, and ¼ lb. of oil for their lamps. On the 15th and 18th of every month, no meat may be eaten, or the *lhus* (spirits of the underworld) will be annoyed. From

22: Francke M-3 (no date) 1901 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

273 539 32. (*a*) མ་ཤི་ཚེ་རིང་འདུག་ན་སྲན་མའི་སྲན་ཆང་སྟེར་ཡིན།།

(*b*) mashi'tbse ring'dugna shran'mā shran'chang ster'rin.

(*c*) In the time I live, not die [before I shall die] I shall give you a beer of peas.

(*d*) A threat. Before my death I shall find some opportunity to give you a severe beating. The beer of peas is said to be of a very bad taste.

ooo (*e*) *Mashithsering* is a *Compos. adverb.* and *copulat.*

593 539 33. (*a*) མ་བུ་གྲབས་མཐུན་ཆ་ན། ཚལ་རྒོ་ཆོད་མས་ཆོད།།

(*b*) ma'bu drabs'thun cha'na
thsalrgo thsod'mā chod'.

(*c*) If mother and daughter agree in their counsel, breakfast may pass off well with vegetables [only].

(*d*) Much displeasure can be avoided by talking over a thing, before doing it.

ooo (*e*) *Mabu* is *Compos. copulat. drabsthun comp. determin.*

539 34. (*a*) བསམ་པ་སྟོན་པ་ན་བདང་ན།
འཇོད་པ་རྗེང་ན་ཡོང་འདུག།།

(*b*) sam'ba ngon'la matang'na
gyod'pa sting'na yong'dug.

(*c*) If you do not give thought first, repentance will come afterwards.

577 793 539 35. (*a*) བོང་འུའི་རྣ་མཆོག་ལ་སེར་བླུག་ན། ཡང་ནག་ཐལ་བ་བླུག་ན། ཚོགས་ཡིན།།

(*b*) bon'gui nam'chogla ser'lugna yangnathal'ba lugna, tsogs'in.

(*c*) It is all the same whether you pour gold in the ear of a donkey or dust.

(*d*) Excuse of the lamas, when asked, why they do not teach the people.

ooo (*e*) In *namchog* as in many other words the silent letter of the second syllable is pronounced with the first.

539 36. (*a*) སྔོན་མ་སྐག་བརྒྱབ་ན། རྗེང་མ་ཁོད་མ་ཤོར།།

(*b*) ngan'ma rgag'gyab'na, sting'ma rgod' ma shor'.

(*c*) When the man who walks first, stumbles, the man following behind, must not laugh.

842 enough, the Tibetans seem to think that it
587 is the husband's fault and they usually
562 take in another man, in the hope that
357 there will be children. Such a man is
[EC4] known as a *porsag*, that is, a man brought in for the purpose of fathering a child. However, when I asked this woman why she had remarried, if it was because she had no children, or because her husband was too old, she said, "No, those are only the official reasons." After I gained her confidence, she told me that she had married the second husband because she needed a servant in the house, and she found it cheaper to have another husband than to have a servant she would have to pay!

581 If a Tibetan woman marries a Moham-
177 medan, she has to leave the polyandrous practice and becomes a member of the usual Mohammedan family system. The woman always takes the husband's religion, so that a Moslem girl who marries into a Buddhist family becomes polyandrous.

595 Now it must not be imagined that polygyny (where a man has a number of wives) does not exist in Tibet. One occasionally finds a case as when a young man goes on a long voyage and meets a girl of his choice and his brothers agree to bring her into the house. Thus, in Rupchu, I have seen three brothers sharing two wives, so that anything seems to be possible among the Tibetans and, on the whole, the system seems to work very well.

584 The children in Tibet are betrothed
593 when they are 10 or 12 years old, usually
588 by the parents. But this is not always the case. Very often the eldest boy chooses a wife himself, and his brothers and the other members of his family have to accept this woman as the common wife; they have no choice in the matter. But there is yet another custom in the Tibetan family which to us Westerners appears extraordinary indeed. As soon as the children are married, the parents are obliged to leave the house and the children take over. The father and mother must go to live in a smaller house, usually on

584 the same property, which is built especially
593 for that purpose. This custom is known
[104] as *kangoo, kangchen choches* which in Tibetan means "small house, big house division." The children then become responsible for the agricultural and commercial activity, while the parents must live on an allowance or on a small part of the property which is put aside for them
[104] (called *maskal* if it is for the mother, and *paskal* if it is for the fathers). This custom, though not rigidly enforced, seems very strange to us, since in our society the parents remain in charge of the family property until they die and the children have to go and earn a living for the family which they found.

593 It cannot be said that, in a Tibetan polyandrous family, one of the brothers is *eo ipso* more important that the others. For instance, it is not necessarily the eldest brother who is the head of the family, but usually the one with the most personality and sometimes even the mother, if she is in a position to run the family. The fathers are often somewhat afraid of their sons, because as soon as the sons become married, the parents have to leave the house. Thus, they try to ingratiate their children so that they will be left a sufficient amount of property on which to live when the children marry.

852 There is an initiation ceremony among the Tibetans, as with many other peoples in the world. It consists in the boys and girls having their hair cut at an early age, usually between their second and third year, by the mother together with one of the fathers, usually the most influential one.

593 There seems to be no fixed rule as to how a polyandrous family works out relations between husbands and wife. Most people seem to imagine that it is left to the wife to regulate with whom she shall have relations, but this is not always the case. If it is left to her, she naturally has to use tact so that the boys are all satisfied, but, in other cases, the decision is up to the brothers themselves, who remain at

593 home, in turn, while the others go off on commercial journeys. This idea of one brother staying in the house and looking after the common wife is what many anthropologists believe to be the explanation as to why these people practice polyandry; that is, so that they can be sure the children issuing from the marriage will be at least from the same family, even if they are not those of one particular man. Thus, during the war, I saw a Sikh officer (an Englishman) who received a request from one of his soldiers to go home because, he said, his wife had had a child. The officer said, "But you have been away for two years, so how can your wife have had a child? Is that any reason to go back?" And the Sikh answered, "Yes, but my brother was at home," and then retracted his words, because the Sikhs, at least, do not like admitting they are polyandrous, though it certainly exists in the northern part of the Punjab, among them as well as among the Hindu *jats*.

In Leh, I was struck by the fact that, in most families, there seems to be no organization at all. Complete promiscuity apparently exists between the brothers and the common wife, especially during the winter months when the place is very often snowed in completely and the whole family lives in one room because they have not enough fuel to heat the whole house. This I found out both from questioning the people and from hearing details from Europeans who have gone into the question before.

593 114 121 201 152 Oddly enough, however, in all anthropological books about polyandry, one hears that the brothers, in turn, go in to the wife and signal their presence in the nuptial room to the other brothers by leaving some mark at the door. They either put their sword against the door or their stick, or leave their shoes or hat outside, or hang their beads on a hook at the door as a signal that they are in with the common wife and the other brothers may have no access to the room. When I examined this first-hand, however, and also in the

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593 case of other polyandrous peoples like the
114 Todas and Tiyas, I found that they say
121 this is not practised any longer, but that it
201 used to be a custom two or three genera-
152 tions back. I have never found a case of its actually being practised today and, for this reason, I have strong psychoanalytical suspicions that it has never been practised, but that this story has been put out by polyandrous people as an indication of, what I should call popularly, "wishful thinking." Each of the brothers would like, in some way, to have the common wife all to himself and would like to manifest this virility on his part by hanging up some emblem at the door. The sword, the stick, the shoes, the hat, and even the beads are all, psychoanalytically, symbols of virility, and it seems as if the men would *like* to have this custom which, possibly, has never existed, and each of them gains a certain satisfaction in thus imagining a virility which he feels he does not have.

181 The morality of the polyandrous people
595 is very high. I mean by this that, as poly-
178 andry is an institutionalized social system, they stick to it very strictly. If you ask missionaries who have been among polyandrous people, they will, of course, tell you that polyandry is a very immoral practice. But if you speak to the people themselves, they, on the contrary, consider it highly immoral not to be polyandrous. If we take as the definition of morality, conformity to the social standards of the setting in which one lives, then one can say that polyandrous people, at least in this area which I studied, are very moral. The old people complain that today the young ones are getting highly immoral and lax in not carrying out the tradition of polyandry. Certainly, on the borders of India, where the people come in contact with the monogamous families of India, or with Europeans, polyandry is dying out to some extent.

595 I remember speaking to an old Tibetan
178 called Tocktock in Leh, who told me that,
428 in town, Indian and Turki traders (the latter from Chinese Turkestan), and Euro-

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152 houses? I have the impression that it does
428 exist but that it is very highly repressed by this institution of polyandry. Tibetans, when asked if they are jealous among themselves, will always answer that they cannot afford to be jealous because of the economic sanction against it. If they started quarreling among brothers, they would have to divide up the property. They would then be too poor to carry on, and this threat makes it impossible for them to show their jealousy.

152 As it is, there seem to be some outlets
595 for it. I have noticed a number of what one might term "unjustified" *magpa* marriages, cases of young men who were married jointly with their brothers to one woman and yet each went off and married an heiress. Such a man could have remained married to the common wife, but was lucky enough to find an heiress he could marry and he certainly did so at once, because it gave him some justifiable motive for having a wife all to himself There are very many such cases of *magpa* marriages which are not justifiable, in the case of the males, except for the desire to break away from a polyandrous family.

152 A certain amount of neurotic cases
762 among brothers can also be noticed, which
593 shows that jealousy certainly exists unconsciously in their psyche. I saw a young man in Keylong, in Lahaul, where we were staying for a month (or, rather, I heard about it because it had just happened when we arrived there), who had committed suicide because he felt that the common wife was not giving him enough chance of access to her. He was in love with her and his other brothers were obstacles, so he committed suicide. In Leh, I actually saw a young man who for many years, as long as his brothers were alive, had suffered from a paralysis of one of his legs. His brothers died off one after another until he was left alone with the common wife, and queerly enough, that very day he lost the lameness in his leg, so that it looked as if it had been a hysterical manifestation due to repressed aggression

within him, certainly caused by jealousy of his other brothers for their relations with the common wife.

There are certain instances of extra-marital relations between people in this polyandrous community, but they are highly condemned and heavy sanctions are applied. In a *bagma* marriage, if the woman commits adultery, she is turned out of the house if she is childless, and the brothers choose another wife. If she is with child, she is fined and has to pay out of her personal property. As for the man, the co-respondent, he is beaten and/or has to pay compensation to the legal husbands. In a *magpa* marriage, where the woman is heir to the property, has the care of it and can marry as many men as she desires, infidelity of the wife is the only case in which the husbands can get a divorce. Otherwise, she can divorce them, but not *vice versa*. If the man is the adulterer in such a marriage, nothing is done except in the family where he has committed the adultery. In the case of unmarried people, the woman is usually turned out of the house if she has premarital relations and should attempt to marry the man with whom she has had these relations. If the trespasser is a man, he is treated exactly like an adulterer in the usual *bagma* marriage.

Illegitimate children are usually hushed up. They are often adopted into some family or are sent to the monasteries as novices, so that nobody knows exactly what their origins are. As far as I could find out, there seems to be no prostitution in Tibet, and husbands suffering from the polyandrous organization do not have that outlet. Something, however, certainly is known about prostitution, for Tibetans, who never smoke, tell you that they do not do so because tobacco was a plant grown with the menstrual flow of a prostitute.

As far as I could find out, homo-sexuality is condemned, even in the monasteries, and certainly despised if practised, and I could not find any proof of it. But local Europeans who know the

To 829 595 121 182 T 829 595 121 182 K [121] would give the following interpretation of the polyandrous systems found: It seems to me that polyandry is "not necessarily a primitive institutional form of marriage, but that it is due to the psychological reaction of individuals living in communities subject to environmentally poor and insecure economic conditions, persisting, in the case of the Tibetans, through isolation from other communities, or, in the case of the Todas, as a type of defense mechanism against invasion by other cultures." I have not included the Tiyas in this definition because I do not know them sufficiently and would like to go more thoroughly into their polyandry before giving an interpretation of it.

Ti 595 114 212 Now, if I take this definition, instance by instance, I shall be able to interpret exactly what I mean by it. When I first say that polyandry is "not necessarily a primitive institutional form of marriage," I mean that, for instance, the Tibetans are all literate and educated people, with whom you can speak quite freely, who have a very pronounced sense of reality and do not in any way seem like a primitive people. It thus looks as if polyandry were a system entirely outside of the usual evolutionary stages of marriage, in which anthropology puts the matriarchal before the patriarchal system.

To 595 114 [182] [593] Next, I say that polyandry is "due to the psychological reaction of individuals living in communities subject to environmentally poor and economically insecure conditions," by which I mean, living in a physical environment which leads to a miserable economy. This economy makes

Ti 595 114 [182] [593] them very interdependent, within each family, upon the help of each other, and this interdependence, in turn, which is stressed very highly in these families because of the necessity of sticking together under the difficult physical conditions, calls for less aggression among the members of the family itself and among groups of them. It seems to me that this stress on the condemnation of aggression is such that even something approaching incest

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To 595 114 Ti 595 114 appears as less dangerous than aggression among brothers. In fact, the balance between aggression and love for one another is upset in favor of love, and this is so effective that latent, repressed incestuous strivings are forced out by an excuse, I should say, of loving one another and are less condemned than aggression between brothers.

To 595 114 593 Ti 595 114 593 I am convinced that it is this feeling that finds its expression in the Tibetans and Todas saying, "We are polyandrous because we do not want to quarrel among ourselves." (The Tibetans say that they do not want the women to quarrel, by which indirectly they mean that, if the women are quarreling, the men will have to take sides and would quarrel. The Todas are more definite about it and say outright that they are polyandrous because they do not want the brothers to quarrel.) These people actually feel that a practice of aggression, of rivalry between brothers is more dangerous than the custom of sharing one woman, which has led to the establishment of a community in which it has become compulsory to live in this fashion.

To 595 114 Ti 595 114 It is very characteristic of polyandrous people that they insist on being polyandrous and say it is immoral to be anything else. In fact, this latent eruption of a repressed incestuous desire becomes an obligation, which is very much in line with the teachings of psychoanalysis; namely, that a repressed desire becomes the basis of a compulsion, in this case of an imposed institution, which it would be difficult to explain sociologically. Of course, these incestuous obligations, as you might call them, do not go as far as a father-son

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POSITION OF THE WOMEN.

562 462 To a native of India the complete social liberty of the women of Ladākh seems very strange. This liberty, I think it may be said, is as great as that of workmen's wives in England; not only do Lādakhī women go about unveiled, but also they mix where men frequent and enter with them into their pursuits of business or pleasure, and partake too of their toil. I have told what good weight-carriers the women are; in agriculture also they take their share of the work; when the seed is in, the tending of the fields—the watering and so on—is a great deal left to the women, the men perhaps having work abroad.

595 161 [565] Thus far we may think woman's position here to be better than in India, but what is next to tell darkens the picture. Polyandry, plurality of husbands, is, except among the few richer people, quite general; it is much more nearly universal than is polygamy in India, and for this reason, that polygamy is a custom itself expensive, practically reserved for the well-to-do, while polyandry is an economical arrangement, one established on the poverty of a barren country, and extending throughout the people as far as indigence itself does.

[167] There can be no doubt that the practice of polyandry in Ladākh originated from the smallness of the extent of land that could be tilled and the general inelasticity of the country's resources, while the isolation from the rest of the world—isolation of manners, language, and religion, as well as geographical isolation—hindered emigration. It was found impossible for the younger ones either to marry and settle or to go out for their [593] living. They naturally became mere helpers in the household—farm-servants to the elder brother. From that there came about the curious custom that when the elder brother marries a wife she becomes a wife to all the brothers. The younger brothers remain in a very subordinate position in the family, but the wife is held in common. The children recognize all as father, speaking of their elder and their younger fathers. As many as four brothers thus may become, and do become, husbands to the same wife; I